

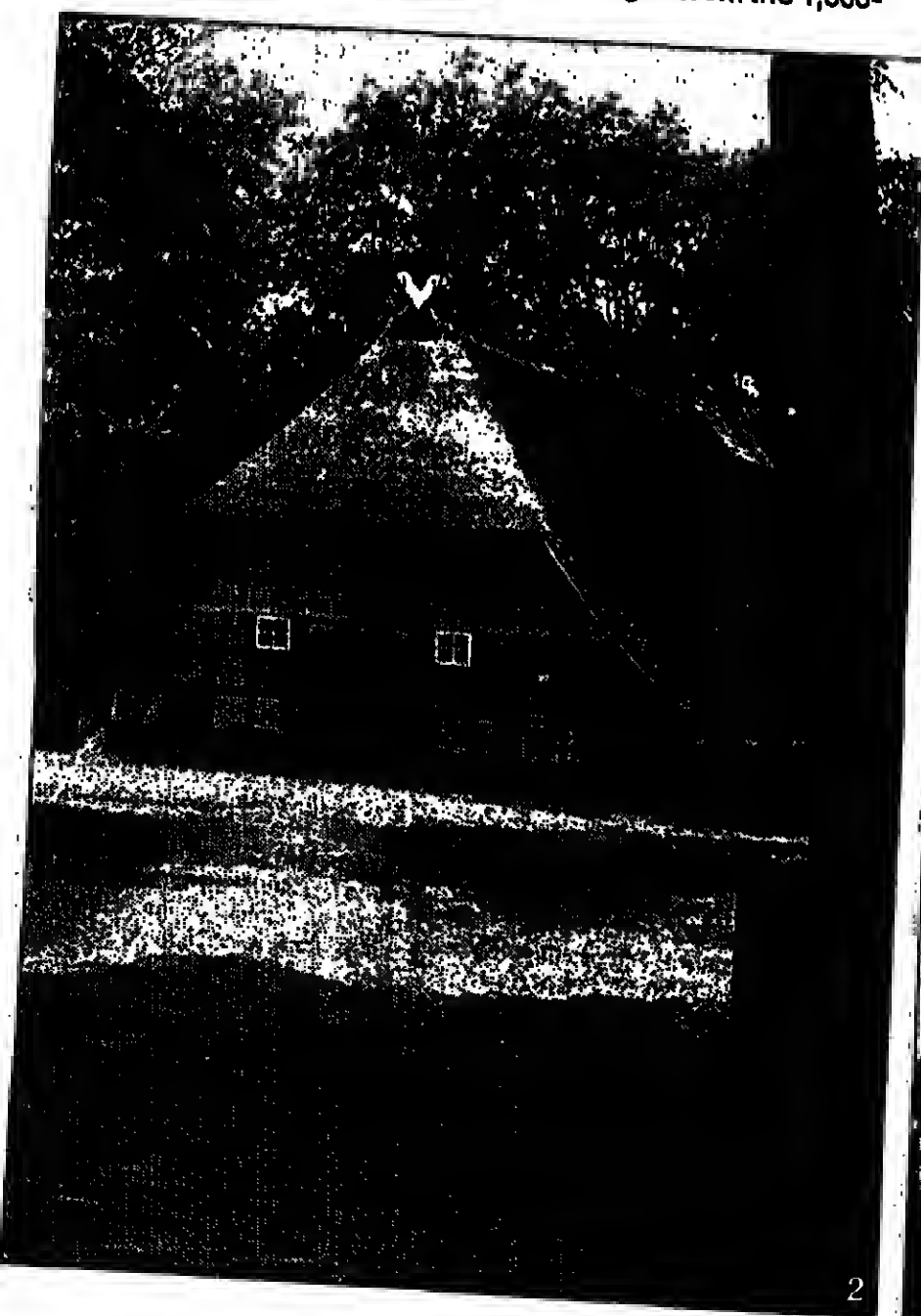
# Routes to tour in Germany

## The Harz and Heath Route



German roads will get you there — to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both. The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-

year-old town of Goslar. The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep. Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS  
Beethovenstrasse 68, D-6000 Frankfurt



# The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C  
ISSN 0016-8858

Bonn, 28 August 1983  
Second year - No. 1097 - By air

## EEC struggles to find the right formula

Western European research institutes have submitted a report on the state of the European Community in the alarming title "The EEC faces a crisis: Progress or Decline." The situation is much more complex than these two simple alternatives. European integration has from the outset been a difficult task, beset by the future of the European Community will doubtless continue to be more a straight-forward choice between progress and decline.

apparent these days at the European Parliament, direct elections to which were first held in 1979. Since Greece joined the Community in 1981 the Strasbourg Parliament has represented about 270 million people in the 10 EEC countries. The European Parliament, which commutes between Strasbourg, Brussels and Luxembourg, may not have achieved anything spectacular in the past four years, but that could hardly be expected given its limited powers. Yet it stands far the real political achievement of the 1950s. Euro-MPs are freely elected representatives of 10 European nation-states that have fought on opposite sides in two world wars this century.

There is no reason for glooming over the current state of the Community. Common Agricultural Policy, the only fully integrated European policy, has brought it to the brink of bankruptcy. The reform of the CAP, which has been postponed for years, now seems likely to be making headway under the search for compromises no increase in funds for the EEC's

They form common parliamentary groups consisting of British and Irish MEPs, Germans and French, Belgians, Dutch and Luxembourg members, Danes, Italians and Greeks. Cooperation at the European Parliament may soon extend to include Spanish and Portuguese MPs. The European Community's success is best measured in terms of the fact that no member-country seriously considers resigning from the EEC. Yet that does not, by any stretch of the imagination, mean the Ten are prepared to keep in step as they progress toward integration.

### IN THIS ISSUE

- WORLD AFFAIRS Page 2  
Reagan trip shows US concern for South-East Asia
- PROSPECTIVE Page 8  
Burning issue: control over missiles
- ARCHAEOLOGY Page 10  
Mesopotamian quest reveals deep insight into origins of mathematics
- NAVOUR Page 15  
Turks help Turks to live with stress

In retrospect the first expansion of the European Community can be seen to have been a crucial juncture. Britain and Denmark, two of the new members who joined in 1973, are diffi-



(Cartoon: Horst Heltzinger/Nordwest Zeitung)

cult partners, countries for which European union as a political objective is neither an urgent target nor an affair of the heart.

Na-ane need be in any doubt that the more partners there are in the Community the more difficult it will become to arrive at a common denominator for their various interests.

Reservations on the Stuttgart solemn declaration, which at least officially reiterated the political target of European integration, were also expressed by Greece.

It will also be more difficult to arrive at decisions that go above and beyond compromises that is tolerable for all concerned.

Other governments that were likewise far from wildly enthusiastic about the declaration chose not to voice their views on the subject.

There will need to be a counterweight to ensure that stagnation on integration does not lead to decline.

With southern expansion of the Community to include Spain and Portugal on the agenda, cooperation in Western Europe seems sure to grow more comprehensive.

The European Commission, which its first president, Walter Hallstein, described as the engine and driving force behind European integration, no longer has the force needed.

But intensification of EEC integration seems likely to be the laser in this process.

It has long ceased to have it and is now politically, if not legally, dependent on member governments.

## Bonn uncovers a new political dimension in the Far East



shifting in the Asian and Pacific regions.

High-level talks between Bonn and Tokyo, extremely important yet largely unnoticed by public opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany, were recently held in the Japanese capital.

Far Eastern observers are already referring to the Reagan axis, named after its initiators, US President Reagan and Japanese Premier Nakasone.

The two-day consultations were described by Japanese commentators as the first high-grade talks on security policy ever held by Tokyo and Bonn.

Slogans have been coined in this context in which little or no attention has been paid outside the region.

They were the first bilateral contacts between the two governments since the Williamsburg summit, at which Japan made its debut as an active partner of the Atlantic alliance on missile disarmament.

They include ideas such as a new Pacific economic order, a US-Asian prosperity concept and the transfer of the world's economic centre from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Tokyo talks were held at a time when the emphasis in respect of the overall East-West balance seemed to be

What with these and Japan as the far-most US partner in containing Communist influence in the world by economic means one wonders whether Europe might not be in the process of missing a bandwagon that has already started to roll.

The Parliament alone cannot accomplish decisive progress in European affairs, but if it is backed by a majority of Euro-voters what it has to say will carry greater weight with member-governments and the European Commission.

State secretary Berndt von Staden of  
Continued on page 2

Günther Nonnenmacher  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 August 1983)



# Reagan trip shows US concern for South-East Asia

President Reagan is to visit South-East Asia in November. He will be the first US President to do so since the Vietnam war.

The strategic importance of the region has been rediscovered by the Reagan administration.

South-East Asia has undergone sweeping changes since the glorious US withdrawal from Saigon in April 1975.

Hanoi holds sway throughout Indo-China and the Soviet Union has established a foothold.

The Russians have armed Vietnam to the teeth, making Hanoi a regional superpower and enabling the Vietnamese to conquer Kampuchea.

In return the Soviet Union has been allowed to establish military bases of its own.

Non-Communist South-East views the trend with growing anxiety. Governments of the ASEAN countries, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia have urged the United States to pursue a more active Asian policy as a counterweight to Soviet influence.

They would like Washington to exert greater pressure on Hanoi to withdraw Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

That was the message ASEAN Foreign Ministers conveyed to US Secretary of State Shultz when he met them in Bangkok.

Thailand in particular has demonstratively warned that the Soviet Union is a threat to Asia.

The Thai Foreign Minister has referred to reports that Moscow is installing new missile launching facilities in eastern Siberia that will almost double the number of SS-20 systems aimed at targets in Asia.

Vietnam, he said, was Moscow's Trojan horse in Asia. Soviet air force and naval units stationed in Vietnam had potentially grave consequences for the security of all Asian countries.

They made these countries susceptible to Soviet intimidation tactics, he warned. Last but not least, the Soviet Union threatened vital shipping routes between Europe and the Far East from these new bases.

The Russians now had operational bases in the heart of South-East Asia in the form of air force and naval facilities in Vietnam that were once built with US taxpayers' money.

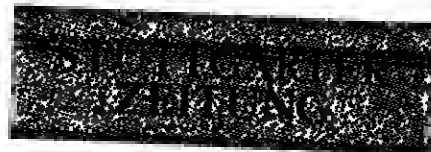
From these bases Soviet Backfire supersonic bombers could reach US bases in the Philippines and the Strait of Malacca, through which much of the crude oil-bound for Japan and other Asian countries passed.

They could not only reach these targets but also return to base without refuelling.

At Cam Ranh Bay, a former US naval base in Vietnam, the Russians have laid out underground fuel tanks and submarine pens.

In addition to other units half a dozen Soviet submarines are constantly stationed there, including three that are nuclear-powered and equipped with nuclear missiles.

In Kampuchea too, a mere 125 miles from the Thai border, Moscow is enlarging the deep-water port of Kompong Som, formerly Sihanoukville, and the Ream naval base.



The Soviet Pacific fleet now numbers over 200 vessels, including 45 major fighting units, 150 submarines and 350 fighter aircraft.

The US Seventh Fleet is small in comparison, but the Americans are convinced their 80-odd ships in the Pacific, including three aircraft carriers, and 375 aircraft are more than a match for the Red Fleet.

In 1980 four Soviet warships, led by the aircraft carrier *Minsk*, showed the flag in the Gulf of Thailand.

The US fleet has since visited Thai ports more often and held more and larger exercises with units of the Thai navy.

This year alone a round dozen such manoeuvres are planned.

Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia has made Thailand a front-line state, as Mr Shultz pointed out in Bangkok in June, when he demonstratively reiterated America's pledge to come to Thailand's support.

Under Presidents Ford and Carter US pledges of support did not sound

so credible in Asia. ASEAN leaders seem to feel more inclined to believe President Reagan in this respect.

Many Asian politicians noted with satisfaction and approval President Reagan's statement that America had fought for a noble cause in Vietnam.

Most of them failed to come to terms with Jimmy Carter, his emphasis on human rights and, as they saw it, his pussyfooting toward the Communists.

Mr Carter, who was dissatisfied with the autocratic regime of President Marcos in the Philippines, allowed relations with Manila to cool off.

Mr Reagan has included Manila and Bangkok in his South-East Asian itinerary as America's foremost allies in the region.

He originally intended only to visit Jakarta as the current headquarters of the ASEAN secretariat, but America has its largest overseas air force base and its largest naval supply depot in the Philippines.

Since the Vietnam war South-East Asia has proved politically stable and developed most encouragingly in economic terms.

Fears that neighbouring states would fall like dominoes after the Communist

take-over in Indo-China have been unfounded.

A fair number of Asian states, including Singapore, the Philippines, and Kuan Yew, are convinced that the US struggle in Vietnam was for its neighbours.

The US commitment in this argument runs, enabling countries to gain political and economic stability.

Economically South-East Asia is one of the most promising Third World.

It remains to be seen, however, what extent Mr Reagan can live up to America's moral and political policy in Asia.

It will be no easy task for the US to live up to its commitments in the Vietnam syndrome is still very much in evidence.

On Cambodia, for instance, the US has so far avoided taking a stand and made do with footprints of the ASEAN aimed at isolating Vietnam.

As for defence, Washington to encourage countries in the region (such as Japan) to be more step up cooperation among themselves.

The ASEAN countries have shown little inclination to becoming a military pact.

But under pressure from expansionary policies the five states have lately tended to on defence matters too.

Dietrich Muehl (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 August 1983)

Chancellor Helmut Kohl must take another look at both his style of leadership and the machinery of government if he wants to get through a turbulent autumn with an intact crew. It is clear that the coalition, the CDU and the Chancellor are not running smoothly.

There are disputes within the coalition, especially between the CDU and the FDP. A major issue to settle is with the FDP of the CDU which, thinks there is no need for long-term coalition with the FDP.

It has been often said that one reason for Mr Schmidt's downfall was an excessive preoccupation with detail. The government seems to be going to the extreme. Chancellor Kohl is prepared to cancel a cabinet meeting if he feels it is inappropriate. His view is that there is nothing to decide, don't let there be.

The Cabinet is more than just a decision-making body. It is an important forum for discussion. Ministers can only inform themselves that there is.

It is also obvious that the Chancellor has not yet become the pivot point of Bonn politics, as it was under Schmidt.

There is a lack of coordination both within the government and between the government and the states.

A strong hand to bring back some order is called for.

Chancellor Kohl can hardly be blamed for having kept out of the coalition disputes themselves lately (he is holidaying in Austria, from where he said in an interview that there were no major disputes in Bonn).

For the conflicts are too deep-rooted to be set aside. Any attempt by Kohl to use his authority to end them, therefore, would have been doomed to failure.

Perhaps he feels that leaving the parties to get on with their feuding would wear them out. This would make it easier to bring them to their senses.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

# Kohl needs to iron out a few coalition crinkles

about overall policy through regular Cabinet discussion.

One example: the government has been harmed by conflicting statements by Cabinet members over the extent to which Bonn has guaranteed the big bank loan to East Berlin. This shows that, on this point, Ministers were not sufficiently informed.

Perhaps Schmidt's obsession with details and his demand that Cabinet meetings should be attended by all members had its point.

It is also obvious that the Chancellor has not yet become the pivot point of Bonn politics, as it was under Schmidt.

There is a lack of coordination both within the government and between the government and the states.

A strong hand to bring back some order is called for.

Chancellor Kohl can hardly be blamed for having kept out of the coalition disputes themselves lately (he is holidaying in Austria, from where he said in an interview that there were no major disputes in Bonn).

For the conflicts are too deep-rooted to be set aside. Any attempt by Kohl to use his authority to end them, therefore, would have been doomed to failure.

Perhaps he feels that leaving the parties to get on with their feuding would wear them out. This would make it easier to bring them to their senses.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

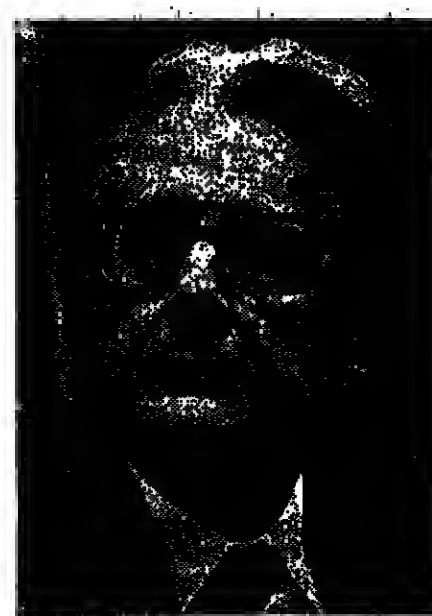
CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

CDU parliamentary leader Alfred Dregger and Bonn Finance Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (CU) faced the same day, heedless of the fact that they thus lessened each other's relations effectiveness.

Some of the things Dregger said in the Bundestag were not very good. He did not make a very good start in the summer break, with all eyes on the Land elections next month in Hesse and Bremen.

# Social Democrats search for a new political identity



Hans-Jochen Vogel... at the helm. (Photo: Sven Simon)

issues as economic, fiscal and environmental policy.

As the Social Democrats see it, the traditional growth policy is obsolete anyway. It is neither feasible nor desirable.

The existing policy can neither stop the destruction of the environment nor can it present a new class of underprivileged people from emerging: jobless youth, foreigners, academics and blue and white collar workers.

A party that succeeds in presenting new economic steering mechanisms

without curtailing personal freedoms, a party that evolves more meaningful forms of work while upholding social justice, could well become the governing party of the future.

The FDP is out of the question as a possible partner in a coalition of structural renewal — at least for the time being.

This leaves the Greens. But if Willy Brandt's vision of a "majority left of centre" is to become reality, the Greens would have to develop from adolescent pranksters into a party capable of being a coalition partner and drafting policy.

They have many a good idea to bring into a coalition.

The old concept of progress as outlined in the officially still applicable SPD Godesberg Programme of 1959 is an unsuitable instrument for the future.

Even more than before, progress today means a meaningful preservation of the existing.

The belief that science and technology would gradually make the world a better place to live in has been questionable for some time. But so far no political conclusions have been drawn from this.

The social compatibility of technical progress is still to be achieved in a political struggle, and it is realists rather than romantics who can achieve this.

The SPD has a chance to step out of its opposition role and enter this new territory.

Heinz Gündlach (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 August 1983)

# Tokyo talks

alliance obligations toward the United States.

Bonn has certainly realised that Germany and Japan have more in common than mere second-rate trade squabbles.

On security matters the two governments see eye to eye inasmuch as neither imputes that the USSR has intentions of military aggression.

They also agree that maintaining peace and stability is not just a military but increasingly a matter for economic and development policy.

In Williamsburg the Japanese Premier accepted this new role for his country, which went on to make fresh loans to Central America, the Middle East, Indonesia, South Korea, China and Turkey.

But the Japanese government recently had to admit it would be unable to double its economic aid in five years because of the pressure of Japan's national debt.

The ideas that lie behind White House views on the subject were outlined by US Presidential adviser Norman Bailey in Brussels last May.

In a speech to which considerable importance was attached in Asia he said: "The world's economic centre of gravity is shifting with gathering momentum to the Pacific region."

US trade with the Asian Pacific region already makes up 40 per cent of America's import-export business. Asian countries take a similar view of the trend.

Vice-Premier Rajaratnam of Singapore feels the Asian Pacific region will have outstripped the Atlantic economically by the 1990s.

Asian economists note that newly industrialised countries in the region such

as Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea — and they alone — count for 20 per cent of world trade at the end of the century.

German influence in the region to be on the wane. It was Japanese who noted at an economic symposium in Düsseldorf that the mechanical engineering exports to the Pacific have declined by 10 per cent over the past 10 years.

Over this period Japanese exports have increased to nearly 40 per cent of US exports to over 30 per cent.

A Malaysian diplomat agreed that Germans are handling the matter of the Pacific how important the region is to the Japanese and Americans.

At the Bonn Foreign Office pointed out that EEC-ASEAN relations was a German idea born of liaison how important the region is to the Japanese and Americans.

"Asia is definitely not marginal on the map as far as we are concerned," said Herr von Staden, "although Europe cannot hope to draw Japanese and US trading figures."

Peter Dreyer (General-Anzeiger Bonn, 18 August 1983)

The German Tribune

Editorial: Helmut Kohl, 22. August 1983. Hamburg 72, Tel. 22 55 1. Telex 21 00 0.

Editor-in-Chief: Otto Hahn. Editor: Klaus B. Bruns. Managing Editor: Gerd B. Bruns. English language sub-editor: Simon. Production Manager: Georgine Pösch.

Advertising rates: Tel. 15 — Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagsanstalt Hamburg. Distributed in the FRG by MAALHOF, Inc. 540 West 5th Street, New York 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE publishes in cooperation with the above named newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany are complete translations of the original text. They are not edited or rewritten.

In all correspondence please quote the number which appears on the right margin, above your address.



# World Council of Churches runs into some temporal difficulties

The World Council of Churches entered something of a crisis at its general assembly meeting in Vancouver.

The reason is a change in the balance of opinion that has affected many international organisations: Third World nations now have a weightier say.

In terms of numbers of churches and members, Europe and North America no longer dominate. The pendulum has swung towards Asia, Africa and Latin America. The high Third World birth rate means that the swing is growing every year.

The change showed in, among other things, the number of political topics on the agenda: people's survival in this world is the main task of Third World churches.

The catchphrases here are famine, death from poverty, violence, ignorance and the drive to share in humanity's worldly goods and abilities so that the people born in that part of the world can survive.

They took the theme of the meeting, Jesus Christ, life of the world, literally. Justice took second place in the political discussion and peace was assigned to third place.

But on reading the resolution on peace and justice presented and adopted on the last day of the meeting this sequence appears to be reversed.

In the resolution, peace and nuclear disarmament are pivotal.

The sections on justice give the impression of having been added as an afterthought.

The delegates had too long been kept in groups, and in the end they had little choice but to adopt papers they did not fully understand.

As a result, the statement on peace is dominated by the ideas of erudite, Western-educated theologians obsessed with ridding the world of nuclear weapons before the holocaust prophesied by them.

But the applause for the condemnation of the arms race gave no clue as to where the hearts of the delegates lay.

What really mattered to them became clear a few hours later when a proposed peace council of all churches was passed on to the central committee without further discussion.

As opposed to the general assemblies of 1968 (in Uppsala, Sweden) and 1975 (in Nairobi, Kenya), political topics were not given priority in Vancouver. Theology was the dominant issue.

## No new insights

Though the Vancouver meeting did not result in any new theological insights, it confirmed the decision made in the past few years that social activities are only the consequence of Christian faith, theological work and the striving for the unity of the church over which they must not gain the upper hand. Yet this happened over several years to the detriment of unity in the Ecumenical Council.

The political over-activity at the Geneva head office has meanwhile been pared down to size. But that happened



too recently to leave an imprint on the World Council of Churches.

No progress has been made on the major ecumenical question as to a further rapprochement between Geneva and Rome. But the inclusion of the Orthodox Churches, above all the Russian one, has promoted progress in the Ecumenical Council.

One step in this direction was the recommendation to all churches to debate the study "Baptism, Eucharist and Church Office" that was completed in Lima in 1982.

This "declaration of convergence" shows that the teachings of the churches are more similar than generally assumed.

The conciliar community of the Eastern churches envisaged in Nairobi in 1975 was augmented in Vancouver by the objective of a eucharistic community. This is to bring the churches closer to unity; but it is unlikely that it will lead to practical results soon.

In its community of small groups and in its church services, the general assembly clearly bore the stamp of its

secretary-general, Potter, who is to retire in 1985.

The lack of major events highlighted a work that would have gone under at a more impressive conference, i.e. the statement on community learning.

The church as teacher is not just an ambition but reality.

Twelve hundred years ago, it was monks who taught the Germanic tribes modern agriculture; and 300 years ago it was pietism that brought development to Prussia.

In development work in the field and in pastoral work in their home countries, it was the churches that initiated the principle of self-help where other institutions had failed.

But the churches are in double jeopardy of losing their link with the people and the sources that once turned them into churches. A church can only fulfil its teaching tasks while it learns. Theology alone will not do.

The empty churches must serve as a warning. The churches must once more learn how to learn. They must learn together with the people — the old, the young, the children, the jobless, the soldiers, the police and the pacifists.

They must learn once more to permit the Bible to speak in a way that will reach the people and they must learn to hold their services in a way that will

prevent young people and from running away from them.

No church has an edge over on this score. The necessary incentive to learn together can be a ecumenical bond that will hold

the age of supranational dreams is over. In retrospect de Gaulle is seen to have been right. Nationhood and nationalism have regained popularity, especially among the Germans, a dividend.

Yet this topicality, to which a large number of publications testify, is probably as much as reunification is, an operational aim of political activity.

But no one is satisfied with the current state of affairs, neither left nor right. The German Question continues to be considered unresolved.

A new left-wing nationalism has been covered. Pater Brandt, the son of the leader Willy Brandt, and Herbert von Arnim have outlined its chronological progress in their documentation on Left and the National issue.

Their aim is to prevent the right wing monopolising nationalism. In it are very much in tune with the line set by Kurt Schumacher, the first leader of the SPD.

Does German Mean Today? proclaims the empirical quest for identity to be a natural process of self-interpretation.

The naturally pays particular attention to social relations and conditions. Findings are easily readable, if not profound inasmuch as they are completely dependent on the moment.

The highlights changes that for the part are well-known. Social and constitutional differences, for instance, are no longer as serious as they used to be.

The Germans' main aspirations are to have a family, social security, prospects, ample spare time and self-realisation both at work and in private life. In other words, what we want is a life of milk and honey for ordinary people.

As for the state and social system in the Federal Republic of Germany, Professor Pross tends to favour the tenet that Germany has moved in a direction of its own.

It is based on the assumption that the Germans have a strong authoritarian tradition because they lack experience with a successful bourgeois revolution. West Germans are all in favour of democracy because it has brought them affluence and security. For 35 years there has been virtually no support for anti-democratic political parties.

But they lack emotional ties, genuine affection for democracy. Neither in other Common Market countries nor in the United States are law and order assigned as much importance as in Germany.

Elsewhere they come low on the list of people's priorities.

Special importance attaches to US historian Gordon A. Craig's *The Germans in the context of current literature on Germany*.

It is a survey that could only have been written from a profound knowledge of events and trends, from lengthy and continuous personal experience and with the detachment of a foreigner.

In each chapter, as he outlines the current situation, Professor Craig refers in passing, as it were, to the entire panorama of German history.

His judgements on the present are based on a wealth of experience. His references to the past give them added depth.

What is more, the German reader gains important insights that only an outsider, or rather the outsider's view, is capable of arriving at.

Craig paints a portrait. He tries to capture in its entirety a nation that has been in existence for a millennium.

He seeks to interpret the many forms it has taken in art and politics, law and science in terms of an inner process of development.

"Documents of the 10th century refer to a regnum teutonicum as an established fact, which would seem to indicate that a recognisable national identity or national consciousness already existed."

He deals with the individual sectors of life in a remarkably quick and sure-footed manner, pausing to check time-related changes in German continuity.

**6 Democracy is firmly established . . . Bonn is not Weimar and it never will be 9**

Professor Craig arrives at judgements with a superb sense of detachment and without making the comparisons between national traits that are so popular yet of so little meaning.

He begins his chapter on religion by drily stating that German intellectuals have so often declared God to be dead that one really ought to be surprised how much space German newspapers still devote to the subject of religion.

On money he deals with its magical, transformational power from the custodians of the Nibelungen's treasure via Mephisto as art imaginative inflationary artist in Goethe's Faust II and Karl Marx to Botho Strauss' comment that: "Instead of war we have now re-established a world of money."

On women: "Their struggle for equal rights was similar in Germany, at least in its early stages, in a number of striking ways to the history of Jewish emancipation."

He has similarly perceptive comments to make on university professors and students, on the Romantic movement, on the military and on Berlin, "Athens on the Spree and a city of crises."

The fundamental approach to be read between the lines of this wide-ranging outline is an optimistic outlook.

Professor Craig would like to make it clear to his fellow-Americans, who like all of us are frequently prone to prejudice, that it is wrong to say the Germans will never change.

It has mainly been the French who ascribed to the view that the Germans would invariably revert to their old selves.

In Professor Craig's view 1945 was such a watershed in German history that despite all continuity a far-reaching change can be diagnosed.

The gap between Germany and the West has been clearly narrowed. Democracy is firmly established and certainly stands a chance of lasting. Bonn is not Weimar and never will be.

The books by Willms and Schulz were written with a similar interest in what Germans today are getting up to, but limit themselves to a single aspect, that of Deutschlandpolitik.

They start from diametrically opposite premises and arrive at contrasting postulates for practical politics.

Willms is a professed nationalist and works on the assumption that "for the Germans nothing is as necessary as a new nationalism."

Yet this is a fact they have so far failed to appreciate. In the contemporary scale of values greater importance is attached to democracy than to the nation.

Willms feels these are mistaken priorities. "Democracy is part of what one has; the nation is what one is." The result of history.

So the Germans are identical with their Nazi past, including both victims and hangers-on. Willms does not approve of a selective view of history.

He feels it is an unhistoric as it is inappropriate to pick out democratic or, more primitively, progressive traits in German history and identify with them, as the late President Heinemann recommended.

By the same token Willms is opposed to singling out only the negative aspects. Moralising on the past merely prevents a nation from developing a fresh self-awareness.

In the historical context a nation has enemies. It has, to use Carl Schmitt's term, which Willms follows, a friend-foe relationship.

Too far, as he sees it, is the Soviet Union, which as a system is opposed to the free world and as a superpower is in a position to threaten all Europe from its Asian sector.

Last but not least, and in respect of Germany, the Soviet Union prevents its part of the German nation from exercising its nationhood.

In Willms's view the Germans are not aware of the Soviet threat. Instead, they hide behind moral self-humiliation, hopes of detente and ideologies of dationalisation.

Eberhard Schulz's book is more comprehensive in its conception, subtler in its interpretation and more flexible in its operational outlook.

He too has the maintenance of national unity in mind. He too works on the assumption that the Soviet Union would not at present be prepared to permit reunification.

But he does not regard the basic situation as a friend-foe relationship. He sees it as the result of historical development that admits of the possibility of true detente.

The nation is not, in his view, a categorical imperative either. Nations have suffered the most varied fates, have declined and been divided, have expelled people, gained and lost, and parts have established themselves as new and independent nation-states.

The real danger to German unity is, as Schulz sees it, not renunciation of the legal claim to national unity but the gradual decline of a common identity felt to exist in both parts of Germany.

The Germans do not run a risk of being denationalised without. None of the wartime Allies sought to denationalise its zones of occupation.

But the common nationhood cannot be maintained permanently if the East German leadership continues to pursue a rigid policy of seclusion and demarcation from the Federal Republic.

**6 Germans are hiding behind moral self humiliation and the hopes of detente 9**

So if German unity is less threatened externally than by a gradual decline in consciousness of a common identity within, the foremost goal for German leaders is clear.

It must be to maintain links and ties between the two German states, especially communications and personal relations between people in the two states, and to intensify and reactivate them at the cost of forgoing reunification if need be.

No less a person than Konrad Adenauer raised the idea of a separate right of self-determination for Germans in the GDR.

Even the most ardent advocates of freedom, such as Franz Josef Strauss and Axel Springer, would accept an Austrian-style solution.

So Schulz attaches priority to the German Question rather than the national issue. What matters, as he sees it, is how relations between Germans in the two states develop.

Willms sees a danger in meeting the Soviet Union half-way, that of weakening one's own position by means of "change through rapprochement" and forfeiting freedom, only to end up under the sway of the all-powerful Soviet Union.

Schulz would reply that the Soviet Union is always in a position to use reunification as a bait but will never do so.

For one, that would make the East German leaders' position insecure. For another, while the Kremlin might agree to neutralisation of the Federal Republic it would be most unlikely to voluntarily agree to neutral status for the GDR.

The Russian leaders might find a Communist Bonn government convenient, but not a Communist all-German state.

Peter Coulmas  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 August 1983)

## What WCO GERMANY

The Geneva-based World Council of Churches was in 1948 as a community of Protestant, Orthodox, Anglican, Catholic Churches.

The Catholic Church is a member but it has a close relationship and usually serves to major events.

The general assembly, convened every six years, has just been held in Vancouver, Canada, is the most important of the organisation.

Every member church has one vote in the assembly. The affairs are handled by the committee, whose members are elected by the general assembly.

In its turn, the central committee appoints the secretary-general, who lays down the work guidelines.

There is also an executive committee of 19 and many special committees.

The head office is in Geneva, Switzerland, the General Secretariat and permanent offices of the various committees.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 1983)

prevent young people and from running away from them.

No church has an edge over on this score. The necessary incentive to learn together can be a ecumenical bond that will hold

the age of supranational dreams is over. In retrospect de Gaulle is seen to have been right. Nationhood and nationalism have regained popularity, especially among the Germans, a dividend.

Yet this topicality, to which a large number of publications testify, is probably as much as reunification is, an operational aim of political activity.

But no one is satisfied with the current state of affairs, neither left nor right. The German Question continues to be considered unresolved.

A new left-wing nationalism has been covered. Pater Brandt, the son of the leader Willy Brandt, and Herbert von Arnim have outlined its chronological progress in their documentation on Left and the National issue.

Their aim is to prevent the right wing monopolising nationalism. In it are very much in tune with the line set by Kurt Schumacher, the first leader of the SPD.

Does German Mean Today? proclaims the empirical quest for identity to be a natural process of self-interpretation.

The naturally pays particular attention to social relations and conditions. Findings are easily readable, if not profound inasmuch as they are completely dependent on the moment.

The highlights changes that for the part are well-known. Social and constitutional differences, for instance, are no longer as serious as they used to be.

The Germans' main aspirations are to have a family, social security, prospects, ample spare time and self-realisation both at work and in private life. In other words, what we want is a life of milk and honey for ordinary people.

As for the state and social system in the Federal Republic of Germany, Professor Pross tends to favour the tenet that Germany has moved in a direction of its own.

It is based on the assumption that the Germans have a strong authoritarian tradition because they lack experience with a successful bourgeois revolution. West Germans are all in favour of democracy because it has brought them affluence and security. For 35 years there has been virtually no support for anti-democratic political parties.

But they lack emotional ties, genuine affection for democracy. Neither in other Common Market countries nor in the United States are law and order assigned as much importance as in Germany.

Elsewhere they come low on the list of people's priorities.

Special importance attaches to US historian Gordon A. Craig's *The Germans in the context of current literature on Germany*.

It is a survey that could only have been written from a profound knowledge of events and trends, from lengthy and continuous personal experience and with the detachment of a foreigner.

In each chapter, as he outlines the current situation, Professor Craig refers in passing, as it were, to the entire panorama of German history.

His judgements on the present are based on a wealth of experience. His references to the past give them added depth.

What is more, the German reader gains important insights that only an outsider, or rather the outsider's view, is capable of arriving at.

Craig paints a portrait. He tries to capture in its entirety a nation that has been in existence for a millennium.

He seeks to interpret the many forms it has taken in art and politics, law and science in terms of an inner process of development.

"Documents of the 10th century refer to a regnum teutonicum as an established fact, which would seem to indicate that a recognisable national identity or national consciousness already existed."

He deals with the individual sectors of life in a remarkably quick and sure-footed manner, pausing to check time-related changes in German continuity.

**6 Democracy is firmly established . . . Bonn is not Weimar and it never will be 9**

Professor Craig arrives at judgements with a superb sense of detachment and without making the comparisons between national traits that are so popular yet of so little meaning.

He begins his chapter on religion by drily stating that German intellectuals have so often declared God to be dead that one really ought to be surprised how much space German newspapers still devote to the subject of religion.

On money he deals with its magical, transformational power from the custodians of the Nibelungen's treasure via Mephisto as art imaginative inflationary artist in Goethe's Faust II and Karl Marx to Botho Strauss' comment that: "Instead of war we have now re-established a world of money."

On women: "Their struggle for equal rights was similar in Germany, at least in its early stages, in a number of striking ways to the history of Jewish emancipation."

He has similarly perceptive comments to make on university professors and students, on the Romantic movement, on the military and on Berlin, "Athens on the Spree and a city of crises."

The fundamental approach to be read between the lines of this wide-ranging outline is an optimistic outlook.

Professor Craig would like to make it clear to his fellow-Americans, who like all of us are frequently prone to prejudice, that it is wrong to say the Germans will never change.

It has mainly been the French who ascribed to the view that the Germans would invariably revert to their old selves.

In Professor Craig's view 1945 was such a watershed in German history that despite all continuity a far-reaching change can be diagnosed.

The gap between Germany and the West has been clearly narrowed. Democracy is firmly established and certainly stands a chance of lasting. Bonn is not Weimar and never will be.

The books by Willms and Schulz were written with a similar interest in what Germans today are getting up to, but limit themselves to a single aspect, that of Deutschlandpolitik.

They start from diametrically opposite premises and arrive at contrasting postulates for practical politics.

Willms is a professed nationalist and works on the assumption that "for the Germans nothing is as necessary as a new nationalism."

Yet this is a fact they have so far failed to appreciate. In the contemporary scale of values greater importance is attached to democracy than to the nation.

Willms feels these are mistaken priorities. "Democracy is part of what one has; the nation is what one is." The result of history.

So the Germans are identical with their Nazi past, including both victims and hangers-on. Willms does not approve of a selective view of history.

He feels it is an unhistoric as it is inappropriate to pick out democratic or, more primitively, progressive traits in German history and identify with them, as the late President Heinemann recommended.

By the same token Willms is opposed to singling out only the negative aspects. Moralising on the past merely prevents a nation from developing a fresh self-awareness.

In the historical context a nation has enemies. It has, to use Carl Schmitt's term, which Willms follows, a friend-foe relationship.

Too far, as he sees it, is the Soviet Union, which as a system is opposed to the free world and as a superpower is in a position to threaten all Europe from its Asian sector.

Last but not least, and in respect of Germany, the Soviet Union prevents its part of the German nation from exercising its nationhood.

In Willms's view the Germans are not aware of the Soviet threat. Instead, they hide behind moral self-humiliation, hopes of detente and ideologies of dationalisation.

Eberhard Schulz's book is more comprehensive in its conception, subtler in its interpretation and more flexible in its operational outlook.

He too has the maintenance of national unity in mind. He too works on the assumption that the Soviet Union would not at present be prepared to permit reunification.

But he does not regard the basic situation as a friend-foe relationship. He sees it as the result of historical development that admits of the possibility of true detente.

The nation is not, in his view, a categorical imperative either. Nations have suffered the most varied fates, have declined and been divided, have expelled people, gained and lost, and parts have established themselves as new and independent nation-states.

The real danger to German unity is, as Schulz sees it, not renunciation of the legal claim to national unity but the gradual decline of a common identity felt to exist in both parts of Germany.

The Germans do not run a risk of being denationalised without. None of the wartime Allies sought to denationalise its zones of occupation.

But the common nationhood cannot be maintained permanently if the East German leadership continues to pursue a rigid policy of seclusion and demarcation from the Federal Republic.

**6 Germans are hiding behind moral self humiliation and the hopes of detente 9**

So if German unity is less threatened externally than by a gradual decline in consciousness of a common identity within, the foremost goal for German leaders is clear.

It must be to maintain links and ties between the two German states, especially communications and personal relations between people in the two states, and to intensify and reactivate them at the cost of forgoing reunification if need be.

No less a person than Konrad Adenauer raised the idea of a separate right of self-determination for Germans in the GDR.

Even the most ardent advocates of freedom, such as Franz Josef Strauss and Axel Springer, would accept an Austrian-style solution.

So Schulz attaches priority to the German Question rather than the national issue. What matters, as he sees it, is how relations between Germans in the two states develop.

Willms sees a danger in meeting the Soviet Union half-way, that of weakening one's own position by means of "change through rapprochement" and forfeiting freedom, only to end up under the sway of the all-powerful Soviet Union.

Schulz would reply that the Soviet Union is always in a position to use reunification as a bait but will never do so.

For one, that would make the East German leaders' position insecure. For another, while the Kremlin might agree to neutralisation of the Federal Republic it would be most unlikely to voluntarily agree to neutral status for the GDR.

The Russian leaders might find a Communist Bonn government convenient, but not a Communist all-German state.

Peter Coulmas  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 August 1983)

**6 Germans are hiding behind moral self humiliation and the hopes of detente 9**

So if German unity is less threatened externally than by a gradual decline in consciousness of a common identity within, the foremost goal for German leaders is clear.

It must be to maintain links and ties between the two German states, especially communications and personal relations between people in the two states, and to intensify and reactivate them at the cost of forgoing reunification if need be.

No less a person than Konrad Adenauer raised the idea of a separate right of self-determination for Germans in the GDR.

Even the most ardent advocates of freedom, such as Franz Josef Strauss and Axel Springer, would accept an Austrian-style solution.

So Schulz attaches priority to the German Question rather than the national issue. What matters, as he sees it, is how relations between Germans in the two states develop.

Willms sees a danger in meeting the Soviet Union half-way, that of weakening one's own position by means of "change through rapprochement" and forfeiting freedom, only to end up under the sway of the all-powerful Soviet Union.

Schulz would reply that the Soviet Union is always in a position to use reunification as a bait but will never do so.

For one, that would make the East German leaders' position insecure. For another, while the Kremlin might agree to neutralisation of the Federal Republic it would be most unlikely to voluntarily agree



Development aid has neither eased poverty nor reduced the wealth gap between North and South.

Criticism of aid programmes is growing. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Unctad, demanded at its meeting in Belgrade a massive increase in the amount of aid. Are the failures so far because of not enough aid or is the whole approach wrong?

Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist, once thought that development aid should rise constantly and massively.

Myrdal, a Nobel Prize winner and a former Swedish Minister of Trade, now says that that aid programmes should concentrate on care of the poor and disaster relief.

He says development aid helps the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Together with Dudley Seers, Myrdal outlined his poverty strategy in a widely noted article written for the London daily paper, *The Guardian*, last year.

The authors observed the first Brandt Report on development aid with having ignored the true conditions in most developing countries. These countries, the article said, are predominantly dictatorships or have authoritarian governments not interested in helping the poor.

Large amounts of money were either wasted, for instance corruption, or benefited only the ruling elite.

Many donor governments did not keep promises to concentrate their aid on the poorest countries.

Political and commercial motivations played a major role in granting aid.

The authors no longer exempted the previously praised multinational organisations from their criticism.

## THE THIRD WORLD

# Whole development aid issue comes under scrutiny

They urged governments to continue to step up their development aid. But they called on the donors to make absolutely sure that their aid benefited the needy.

Non-government agencies, including the churches, should play important roles.

These organisations had moral motivation and the ability to deal directly with local institutions, bypassing governments.

A Bundestag resolution passed by all parties in March last year described the fight against absolute poverty as a priority of German development policy. The main target group was to be the poorest groups.

But only rarely do ideas match the deeds.

Commercial or political motivations dominate the actions of the donors, despite denials.

A small selection of global data indicates that the criterion of poverty in granting aid had only a minimal effect: only 56.3 per cent of the world's government aid went to low income countries in 1981 (i.e. countries with a per capita income of no more than \$410 a year).

And only 21.6 per cent went to the poorest countries that are part of this group.

Aid aimed at combating absolute poverty and improving the social position of the masses is much more complex and protracted, and less spectacular and export-promoting, than traditional financial and technical aid.

It is also less attractive for many donors and meets with serious obstacles in recipient countries.

A late report in 1979 by the then Development Aid Minister, Rainer Offergeld (SPD), said the success of development aid hinged on the developing countries themselves. It was up to them to create the preconditions for the success of foreign aid.

The report hit the nail on the head when it said: "Hierarchic orders aimed at keeping large sections of the population underprivileged or at repressing ethnic groups hinders development. This applies even more to countries where rampant corruption or other gross shortcomings can lead to social unrest or civil war."

Statements by Offergeld's successor, Jürgen Warnke, and his parliamentary secretary, Volkmar Köhler, indicate that the Ministry is prepared to act.

Warnke wants to increase discussion with the recipient countries in a bid to achieve the necessary preconditions for economic and social development.

Köhler stresses the points on which the present development policy differs from that of the previous government, saying: "We want a policy dialogue that will take our legitimate interests into account. The emphasis must be on help towards self-help. The main preconditions for development are such things as a pluralistic society, private initiative and free enterprise."

Decades of experience, he says, have shown "developing countries with elements of free enterprise to be more successful than those with planned economies."

But under no circumstances does Bonn wish to foster its own economic ideas on the developing countries, says Köhler.

Some years ago, when Berlin Senator Elmer Pieroth was still the CDU's development aid spokesman in the Bundestag, he got to the core of the matter by formulating this maxim: "Do nothing the developing countries don't want. But don't do everything they want unless it meets our development priorities."

It would be wrong in this connection to speak of violations of sovereign rights or of interference. Outside aid always contains an element of "interference" but no country is forced to accept or offer aid.

It would be absurd to expect a donor to grant aid against his better judgment. And it would be wrong to ideologically malign the "terms and conditions" that go with aid, of these terms and conditions are simply the result of a mutual agreement on the aims and implementation of the aid.

It would greatly promote the successful conclusion of a policy dialogue if all parties concerned realised that even the most massive outside aid cannot solve the internal problems of the recipient countries without parallel measures by their governments.

Otto Matzke  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ and Welt, 12 August 1983)

## Private financing up as public concern grows

Private efforts to raise development aid for the Third World are becoming more successful despite unemployment and stagnating economies.

A Bonn Ministry of Development report says the reason for this is the public understanding of the problems is increasing.

In 1982, donations for development projects of the churches rose 13 per cent over the previous year.

In 1981, 167 organisations raised a total of DM839m. This was a 10 per cent increase on the year before.

Unlike the state, whose development aid was financed from tax, private initiatives must convince donors that their work is both necessary and useful.

They must also show that their money was used as intended.

Bonn has been supporting agencies with Federal funds. By using some of its budget, these non-governmental organisations have been able to achieve results that cannot be achieved by bilateral agreements at the level of the state.

The idea is that something is done by whoever does it best. In this concept, the state gets the money the state would spend to do something less well.

Private development aid organisations often have expert personnel in the countries who can do the money part of the government's job and put prestige objects in the poor and into useful projects.

This enables "government" to reach particularly needy sections of the population where the traditional means of bilateral government aid are not effective.

On average, the non-governmental organisations received DM1.5 billion in subsidies for every DM2.5 billion they raised in the past three years.

The ratio for church organisations was DM1 to DM4.10 and for other organisations DM1 to DM8.70.

This favourable ratio of development government subsidies against private initiatives is due to the fact that private organisations received considerably more in subsidies than they could raise.

Organisations like Freedom from Hunger, Leprosy Relief, the Red Cross, Medico International, Terry de la Mesa, the World Peace Service and scores of other organisations are out of business if they had to rely on donations only.

Among those that received considerable Federal subsidies for their development work — trade union promotion, cooperatives, self-help organisations and the media — are also the foundations of the political parties.

Between 1962 and 1982, government aid to enable the Ministry to promote development programmes extending over several years rose from DM1.869m to DM18.69m. This means that the foundations received more of the state's money than the private organisations (DM171.2m).

The Ministry says nothing about the state's own funds, reserving itself to saying that they pay for the state's share of the burden.

Christian Schütze  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 August 1983)

Continued on page 7

## FINANCE

# EEC waters down plan for labour-relations laws

particularly in favour of co-determination.

It was a somewhat dispirited Vetter who pointed to the compromise on the corporate law guidelines that had been reached in 1979 between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists' one-third of the supervisory board members were to represent the stockholders, one-third the staff and the last third were to have been elected jointly by these two groups.

But the European majority did not agree, so the EEC Commission now leave it to member nations to choose between three models.

The first model provides that staff representatives should hold no less than one-third and no more than half the supervisory board seats.

In the second model, the board members are elected jointly by capital and labour representatives. An arbitration panel would rule on disputes.

The third model provides for a sort of separate labour supervisory board, though without the right to reverse management decisions.

Each of these guidelines would amount to progress for labour in Britain, France, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Belgium. But it is doubtful whether Margaret Thatcher's government would approve of such revolutionary innovations in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers.

Another point provides for internal company agreements to the effect that "a panel representing all employees of the parent company and its subsidiaries in the Community may be erected." This would amount to a sort of "super works council".

But whether the trade unions are prepared and in a position to institutionalise this "may" provision is doubtful.

Still, Heinz Oskar Vetter attributes great importance to it.

Attempts by the Federation of European Metalworkers Unions to bring about such works councils at companies like Philips and some automakers have failed on a number of occasions.

Under the new guidelines, management would not have to disclose information which, if made public, would do considerable harm.

If necessary, the courts or an arbitration panel would have to decide how these provisions are to be interpreted.

According to the unions, it is here that the business lobby in the European parliament has achieved its biggest breakthrough in defusing the basic idea.

"It would be better than nothing if the information and corporate law guidelines were to be passed by the Council of Ministers at least in their present form," says Vetter.

Social Affairs Commissioner Richard says that this should be possible next year.

But it will take at least another two years before the national legislation of the member states can be brought into conformity.

For some multinational corporations this would be the first major breakthrough in terms of a certain degree of labour co-determination, and Community trade unions would be forced to cooperate more closely.

Erich Hauser  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 August 1983)

## New trade war over cereals ripe to sprout

Because of this huge price difference, Europe's bogs, cattle and poultry eat more and more cheap manioc, citrus pellets and bran.

There would be no surpluses at all if the animals were fed Community grain. In fact, the Community would be able to provide only 96 per cent of its cereal requirements. The remaining four per cent would have to be imported.

But as things stand, it has to try and get rid of its cereal surpluses on world markets that are flooded with cheap grain from such major producer countries as the USA, Canada and Argentina.

To compete, the Community has to subsidise its expensive grain to bring it down to world market prices.

Small wonder then that a trade war must ensue when America dumps its subsidised cereals, as it is doing now with Egypt.

The US has another bumper wheat crop coming up. With its 2.3 billion bushels (about 84 million tons) this year will see America's fourth largest wheat harvest, despite the fact that government programmes have cut the land area under cultivation by more than 20 per cent.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

## Politics at first hand

Detailed and objective information is what you need if you are to hold your own on politics and world affairs: facts on which to base your own political viewpoint.

*Aussenpolitik*, the quarterly foreign affairs review, gives you facts at first hand for an annual DM60 plus p.p.

Write today for a sample copy of the English edition, at no obligation, to the publishers, INTERPRESS GmbH, Holstenstraße 14, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Federal Republic of Germany. Tel. (040) 229 06 09.

AUSSEN  
POLITIK

German  
Foreign Affairs  
Review

Editorial  
advisory board:

Hans-Joachim  
Hartmann

Kurt Georg  
Klein

Klaus  
Ritter

Walter  
Schmidt

Richard von  
Weizsäcker

Name

Address

Profession



## PERSPECTIVE

Burning issue:  
control  
over missilesDISTRIBUTION  
ALLIANCE  
SONNTAGS  
BLATT

US nuclear weapons are stationed in Europe. But the Europeans can neither prevent their use nor ensure that they are used if necessary.

The situation is unquestionably awkward, especially as it involves about 6,000 nuclear warheads.

It may be an ally who decides whether or not to use nuclear weapons, but the fact remains that Europeans have handed over responsibility to a foreign power on a matter of life and death.

Yet it is realistic to aim at a European say on this use of American nuclear weapons in Europe, even if it involves only a right of veto or objection to their use.

Neither the Bonn government nor the Opposition seems particularly enamoured of this suggestion by the Bavarian Premier, and a glance at NATO history shows there to be sound reasons for restraint.

Europeans have never been entirely happy about US nuclear weapons in Europe being entirely out of their control. An intensive transatlantic debate on this issue was held in the early 1960s.

President Kennedy launched the idea of a multilateral nuclear force (MLF) in a bid to satisfy the European claim to a say in nuclear defence.

The United States was prepared to assign to NATO command five Polaris subs with a combined total of 100 nuclear missiles.

The submarines were to be jointly owned by the NATO countries, manned by mixed crews from various countries, and all concerned would jointly decide on their use.

The proposal was made at a time when General de Gaulle aimed to lead France to fresh glory and constantly irritated the West with his leaps and bounds.

He demanded a three-member directorate to run NATO. He had ideas of a European political union and a Franco-German alliance, not to mention a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

In the wake created by this policy the MLF eventually foundered. Britain bought US missiles and was no longer interested in the multilateral force.

General de Gaulle, who was not offered the same terms by President Kennedy as Britain was, went ahead with the French nuclear force de frappe and eventually withdrew the French armed forces from NATO entirely.

The Americans lost interest in the project because their hopes of persuading Britain and France to scrap their independent nuclear deterrents had been mistaken.

In the end, MLF supporters in Bonn, who included Foreign Minister Schröder and Defence Ministers Strauss and von Hassel, were forced to write off the whole idea.

It had never been considered militarily practicable in any case.

The debate was not to no avail, however, as NATO set up the nuclear planning group (NPG) in which European Defence Ministers play a part in target planning for US nuclear weapons.

The NPG has evolved into a discussion forum for all manner of strategic issues within NATO.

Europeans and Americans also reached agreement on a consultation arrangement in the event of nuclear weapons being considered for use in wartime.

This procedure is acted out every other year in the Fallex staff exercises. High-ranking civil servants and military men who have taken part over the years say agreement has invariably been reached.

So Europeans today have at least a right to discuss the use of nuclear weapons, if not to decide whether or not they are to be used.

Only in Great Britain is there anything approaching a two-key system. US bases in Britain are jointly administered.

US and British troops are to serve alongside each other at Cruise missile bases in Britain, whereas Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in other NATO countries are to be allocated to purely US units.

## Differences

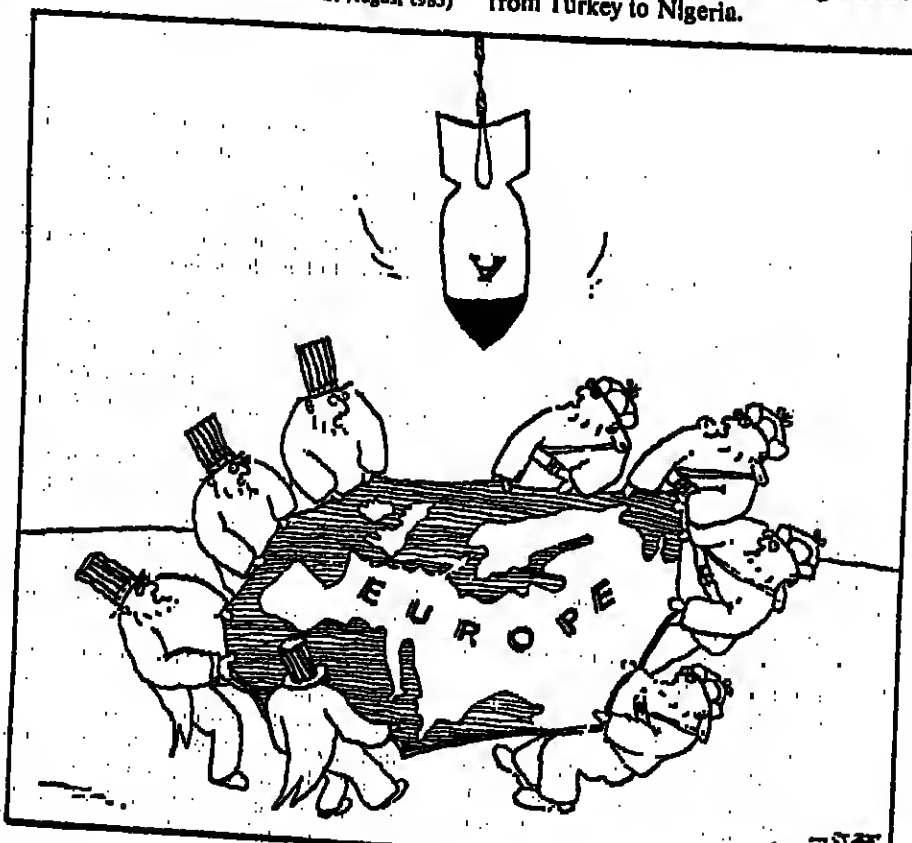
But does this "second key" in British hands mean Britain will be able to prevent warheads from being activated? Will the British government have a legal right of veto on the use of US nuclear weapons from British soil? These are questions on which British views differ.

It is hard to envisage the Americans allowing the Europeans more than a right to consultation. A great power is not going to leave its fate in its allies' hands and not going to make its future depend on majority decisions within an alliance.

That is the difference between other NATO countries and the United States. It is one with which they must learn to live.

It may arguably also be the price they have to pay for being so constant to rely on others in matters of defence policy.

Gustav Trampo  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,  
21 August 1983)



(Cartoon: Tatto / Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

Differing attitudes towards  
war and peace

Why are politicians and the public repeatedly surprised by dramatic developments that seem inconceivable until the moment they happen?

Neither was prepared for the total instability of the Shah's regime in the late 1970s or for the disintegration of power structures in Poland after the collapse of the Giermek regime in 1980.

Both were shocked by the unexpected transition to an apparently alien theocracy in Iran and amazed by the strength between Polish workers and panic-stricken Communist leaders.

It was not just public opinion that was totally unaware of what was about to happen. So were Western politicians.

Cologne political scientist Hans-Peter Schwarz cited these two examples in a lecture to the general meeting of the German Association on Foreign Affairs in Bonn.

They were, he said, instances of how the prevailing universal or global approach from the angle of one's own values repeatedly lead to wrong assessments.

Misleading generalisations were the result of neglecting the particular view in relations with other countries, peoples and civilisations.

They resulted from a failure to appreciate the differences in mentality and value systems and too little consideration for the special features of each country, people and region.

Professor Schwarz, whose lecture is in the latest issue of *Europa-Archiv*, the association's fortnightly journal, is by no means opposed to a universal political view of connections and interdependencies.

He does, however, recommend more consideration of particular domestic structures and warns against mistakenly applying one's own values to other peoples.

Professor Schwarz makes three points in particular:

● There is a religious dimension in the politics of other countries. It is evidenced not only by Islamic fundamentalism in Iran but also by trends in countries ranging from Indonesia to Algeria and from Turkey to Nigeria.

It is a trend that leads to the trembling into modern effects.

There is also what he calls the power of Buddhist beliefs, a mentalism of Protestantism, the religious outlook of blacks.

Spirituality is a political factor, alien to and hard to understand from a worldly viewpoint, the mainline.

Yet mistaken assessments can be made if the religious factor is neglected.

Views differ on war and peace. Given the peace-loving nature of the Federal Republic of Germany, which pursues policies aimed at non-violence, many Germans appreciate that more so.

Other countries, such as America, France, are unrelentingly pushing their security by means of build-ups.

They also fail to understand that there are nations that still see resolving their conflicts, such as the Chinese and Indo-Chinese, the Argentinians, the British, the Israelis and the

The scale of values that is licensed when a civil servant, Germany, Professor Schwarz, high-flying but strappy-eyed, in a letter to *Blickpunkt*, a Bonn make people moralise instead of understanding and to make conclusions, which would be

● Views also differ on nuclear systems. German public opinion has special difficulty in drawing conclusions.

After a decade of détente people in the Federal Republic many have learnt, he says, that try like our own must arrive at an in-between freedom of principles and common sense.

So they find it least difficult to allowances for the Communist. But they are much less ready to promise when it comes to such as Nicaragua, El Salvador, Africa, Turkey and so on.

Unlike Communist countries, almost entirely on the Rhine for tap are frequently reluctant to take into account specific individual instances.

Professor Schwarz advises citizens, journalists and clergy to mind that a common sense to foreign affairs is to view every case as a special case.

There is so much tension many evils and it is wrong and special to attribute them all to a universal cause, such as and the East-West conflict, capitalism, capitalist exploitation, ever.

Such cliché-ridden views, applied by a moralising application of own values to other countries, bound to lead to self-delusion and judgement.

Instability in many countries is due to specific causes and with the country or countries in question.

Those who neglect these factors constantly be surprised by explicable developments.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 August 1983)

## THE ENVIRONMENT

Ortho-chloronitrobenzole causes more than  
a few ripples along the Rhine

beneath which traces can no longer be identified.

The findings were said to prove "that the pollution of the Rhine with chloronitrobenzole which was found to have occurred at this beginning of October has since declined."

Herr Edel and the city of Bonn are now engaged in a lawsuit to determine whether 0.72 micrograms of the carcinogenic compound that is known to affect the genes is a dangerous level at which the water works ought to have been shut down.

Both sides refer to European Community guidelines laid down in 1980 that distinguish between organic chlorine compounds and permanent organic chlorine compounds.

The maximum level permitted for the one is 1 microgram per litre, for the other 0.1 microgram per litre of water. On 1 September Bonn county court is to rule on whether ortho-chloronitrobenzole is a permanent or an ordinary organic chlorine compound.

It may be seen as hair-splitting. Whichever way the court rules there will be no proof of a health hazard for the people of Bad Godesberg, not to mention the diplomats.

Herr Edel was in any case overstating his case in claiming that the people of

Bad Godesberg were "a little nearer Heaven."

Yet the case raises three problems:

● Toxins such as chloronitrobenzole can penetrate water works filters, and the pollution level in Godesberg tap water in early October is likely to have been much higher.

This first sample was not analysed until it was all over bar the shouting. The previous day the Dutch had starting using Rhine water again because their readings were back down to a normal level.

● Purification of toxin-laden Rhine water is total only in respect of substances that are hard to dissolve in water. Readily soluble salts such as are still pumped in substantial quantities from the potash mines of Alsace into the Rhine cannot be extracted by filtration.

As a result it ends up in the tap water of areas served by water filtered on the river bank. Unlike other organic chlorine compounds, ortho-chloronitrobenzole is fairly easily soluble.

Besides, active carbon grows less effective as a filter with time. About a year ago Pfltersdorf water works took to replacing filter units more often because of fears that toxic substances would make a breakthrough.

● The monitoring of Rhine water leaves much to be desired, says Hans-Georg Winter of the Rhine Water Works Association.

The early warning system is of only limited efficiency, given that pollution is only reported that can be seen with

the naked eye. Higher toxin counts are disregarded.

Monitoring must definitely be improved. The Common Market guidelines provide for monthly checks of samples for 51 toxins at water works such as Pfltersdorf.

But the EEC regulations have not yet been adopted as a national legal requirement, which they were supposed to have been over a transitional period of two years.

Chloronitrobenzole and nearly 5,000 other industrial chemicals would still not need to be checked regularly even though varying quantities of them are said to be found in Rhine water.

Such exhaustive checks would be out of the question even if companies responsible for pollution were fined heavily.

If the Rhine is to continue supplying good tap water measures must be taken at an earlier stage: the point of input.

## Ban needed

Higher charges for effluent containing organic compounds and an absolute ban on pumping poorly degradable toxins into the Rhine could work wonders.

There are occasions when water works officials come out with the unwelcome truth. Klaus Haber of Wiesbaden water works once told a meeting of the Chemical Industry Association that:

"A special effort should be taken to ensure that effluent substances that cannot be eliminated either entirely or sufficiently by modern purification techniques are not pumped into the Rhine."

That was on 19 October 1982, three weeks after the chloronitrobenzole incident. The organisers reluctantly noted the point.

Egmont R. Koch and Uwe Lahl  
(Die Zeit, 22 August 1983)

Across-border river purification  
still a source of concern

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss has come in for criticism in connection with purification plans for a river.

Lower Saxony's Federal Affairs Minister, Wilfried Hasselmann, says Strauss has unnecessarily created a precedent by spontaneously agreeing to pay for purification of a stream that carries heavily polluted effluent from Sonneberg in the GDR over the border into Bavaria.

Herr Strauss, he says, has abandoned the principle of making the offender pay for the damage caused, a principle on which Lower Saxony must continue to insist.

Herr Hasselmann was prompted to make these comments in connection with plans to depollute the Weser drawn up by the Linder Lower Saxony, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia and Bremen.

The Weser, which is formed at Hannover-Münden by the confluence of the Werra and the Fulda, carries a payload of 320kg of salt per second.

That is five times as much as the Elbe and the Rhine. It comes from potash factories in Thuringia, Hesse and Lower Saxony.

Thuringia in the GDR is the main offender, accounting for 270kg of the total. Hesse is to blame for 27kg and Lower Saxony for 20kg per second.

This industrial effluent is joined by ordinary industrial and domestic sewage, with Lower Saxony being responsible for about two-thirds of the total.

This hasn't always been the case. Potash has been mined on the Werra for a century, and since Bremen for years took most of its tap water from the Weser a treaty was concluded between Prussia and Thuringia at the turn of the century.

When Germany was divided at the end of the Second World War the potash works on either side of the border reached agreement in 1947 and 1951 on effluent quotas.

The agreement held good until 1967. Then, in 1968, water boards in the West began to notice that the GDR was overstepping the mark.

It first overfulfilled its quota by 100 per cent. By 1972 the GDR was pumping four times as much salt into the river as it should have been.

At one stage the Werra had twice the salt content of the North Sea. Salination changed both flora and fauna in the river.

The ground water bed of the Weser is salted up over a width of up to 400 metres. The water tapped from the river has had to be cut back substantially. Artificial irrigation of farmland with Weser water has been stopped entirely.

In 1980 the Linder reached agreement with the GDR on an expert commission to deal with the Weser. In 14 rounds of talks proposals were drafted and included in a paper initiated by both sides a year ago.

They include three measures to help solve the problem:

● Flotation units are to be laid on at GDR potash works of the kind often used in modern ore and salt mining. They separate the various kinds of salt from each other.

Rock salt is stockpiled. Fertiliser salts are processed. Elimination of the rock salt costs about 65 per cent of the pollution.

● The next step would be to install an underground buffer storage facility as a subterranean reservoir for effluent in summer.

This effluent could be pumped into the Werra in winter and spring when the water flows more freely and in greater quantity.

● A small pipeline could be run to the North Sea to handle such effluent as remained.

The scheme has only been costed in general terms so far. Flotation units are expected to cost between DM150m and DM200m.

Further financial consideration is to be given to the proposals as soon as agreement seems imminent. When that is will depend on the GDR.

The GDR has the whip hand because all the water flows north into the Federal Republic.

Josef Schmidt  
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 August 1983)



## ARCHAEOLOGY

## Mesopotamian quest reveals a deep insight into origins of mathematics

New ideas about the origin of mathematics have emerged. How they have come to light is revealed here by Ernst Probst, writing in *Die Welt*. Probst was at a seminar on the subject at West Berlin's Free University organised by the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research and the University Centre of Roskilde, Denmark.

It was in Mesopotamia, the land between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris in what is now Iraq that the first numerical symbols were etched into clay tablets more than three millennia before Christ.

That was the time when the Sumerians formed the first thriving city-states around the mouths of the two rivers.

The cities' religious and economic life centred around such spectacular temples as that of Uruk, the oldest still preserved structure of its kind.

It was from here that the economic life was administered, irrigation organised and harvests distributed.

One of the most important aids to the administrative work was initially the so-called counting stones, small clay pebbles whose different shapes related to specific types of commodities like sheep, cattle, grain, etc.

This enabled the administrators to keep track of changes in herds of sheep or cattle or the stocks in the temple's grain silos. It also enabled them to keep a check on revenues and spending.

The handling of the stones required no knowledge of mathematics, not even the ability to add and subtract, because they simply reflected the movement of the things they represented.

When the Sumerian culture flowered, the counting stones had already been in use throughout the Mesopotamian region for some 5,000 years.

But it was not until the fourth millennium BC that the administrators first started putting impressions of the stones on to clay tablets. (The earliest of these tablets were found in Uruk and Elam in what is now Iraq.)

These impressions were probably the first letter and figure symbols; and it took next to no time for the invention to spread.

Hans Nissen, professor of Asia Minor archaeology, explained at the seminar how the development of the script coincided with the city-states' need for more efficient administrative instruments.

But the first figure symbols found in Sumerian and Elamite clay tablets were not real figures as we understand them today.

Like the counting stones, they related to specific objects. Accordingly, there were various systems of figure symbols; and their structure was determined by the measuring units of the commodities to be counted.

For example, certain figures on the clay tablets stand next to the counting symbols for grain and area. They relate to each other by the quantity of grain to be harvested from a field of a particular size.

American Professor Marvin A. Powell was one of the pioneers of research into the measuring system used in the third millennium BC. Jöran Friberg, mathematics professor at Göte-

borg University in Sweden, went even further in his research work on the development of measuring systems, delving into the earliest protoliterary texts of the second half of the fourth millennium BC.

Since that script, a precursor of the later cuneiform script, has not yet been fully deciphered, Professor Friberg hopes to obtain some clues about the text by analysing the counting symbols.

Using a grain account relating to bread baking and brewing as an example, he demonstrated to the seminar how the identification of the measuring units used in a clay tablet can serve to decipher its text. He is also attempting to get to the roots of the sexagesimal place-value system.

Unlike our decimal system, which was invented more than 1,000 years later during the early Babylonian period and is based on the figure 10, the sexagesimal system is based on the figure 60.

One of the controversial questions at the Berlin meeting concerned the dating of the origins of today's place-value system.

Professor Powell was able to prove that the sexagesimal system occurred in a text dating from the third Ur dynasty, which preceded the early Babylonian period. This makes it likely that the place-value system is even older than had hitherto been assumed.

The research work of Friberg and Powell has now been augmented by a computer analysis of the more than 2,000 clay tablets that were unearthed by a German archaeological expedition in the 1930s.

The Max Planck Institute for Educational Research presented the seminar with a model depicting the development of mathematical thinking in Mesopotamia.

The model is meant to show how the various object-related figure symbols eventually developed into an abstract concept of figures.

The figure symbols found in the earliest texts were initially no more than an aid to adding and subtracting, used pretty much like the counting stones.

Among the most discussed problems at the seminar was the gradual development of multiplication and division, a development that could have spanned

more than 1,000 years. But the seminar closed without a clear answer to this question.

A large number of strictly mathematical texts of the early Babylonian period (from 2,000 BC) have been found.

The scribes of the era, Babylonian intellectuals, dealt with problems far removed from everyday application.

Jens Hoyrup of the University Centre of Roskilde suggested that the scribes wanted to enhance their guild position by displaying virtuosity. They were able to deal with problems that would equate today's quadratic equation.

How they arrived at the solution of such problems remains one of the great mysteries of Babylonian mathematics. But Hoyrup demonstrated in Berlin that the mysterious Babylonian acrobatics with figures become understandable when relating them to geometry.

It was by no means a handful of Greek philosophers to whom we owe the discovery of mathematics as a science.

The Greeks were preceded by a development extending over thousands of years. But the Babylonians almost never

formulated the methods used in figuring. Instead, it was demonstrated with examples.

Yet there can be no doubt that the Babylonians' extensive mathematical knowledge was the result of study rather than chance.

The wrong impression that ancient mathematicians were in evolving certain rules that substantiated by the Greek lack of knowledge.

Professor Wolfgang Iffert, Institute of Philosophy (who, Peter Domerow of the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research, University of Bonn, suggested that played a major role here, regard to the definition of mathematics.

It was this that enabled the evolution of a scientific approach to Babylonian mathematics, in close to our own ideas. Yet, terms, Babylonian mathematics very much richer than the Greek mathematics from Rubens in acrylic.

There is, however, a danger of projecting too much modern mathematics into the old text and thus losing its uniqueness.

Only a comprehensive study of the Babylonians' mathematics can do justice to the experience of the beauty of mathematics and shed light on their own thought processes.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1983)

## Curious coin custom is among old burial ground secrets

Early antiquity's custom of putting a coin under the tongue of the dead appears to have been in use in southern Hesse during the early Middle Ages (about 600 AD).

This is suggested by the gold coin found in the lower jaw of an old man's skeleton unearthed in the Offenbach-Bieber burial grounds.

The coin was intended as payment for the underworld ferryman Charon for taking the souls of the dead across the River Styx.

It was also customary at that time to provide the dead with food for the journey. This is indicated by the fact that a warrior's grave contained not only the man's skeleton but also the hind leg of a goat.

Archaeologists discount the possibility that the goat's leg got into the grave accidentally because of the way it was positioned next to the human skeleton.

Unfortunately, the team of the Offenbach-Waldhof Prehistory and Early History Institute determined the height of the skeleton from a few skeletons.

But the finds suggest that the height of the skeleton of the Offenbach-Bieber women of the early Middle Ages ranged from 1.55 to 1.80 metres, while men stood about 1.70 to 1.80 metres tall.

In an article published in the *Natur und Museum*, anthropologist Peter H. Blum, Bonn, contrasts the findings with those of widespread theories, the people of that era were smaller than those of today.

He bases his view on skeletons found in other burial grounds of the period in southern Hesse.

The height of the men found in the Offenbach-Bieber burial grounds (Starkenburg, Zellerstein, Rheingau and Main) was between 1.69 and 1.73 metres. The tallest male skeleton of that period found in Kelheim on the Danube measured 1.96 metres.

Like most people in the early Middle Ages who were about 40 or older, buried in Offenbach-Bieber suffered from differing degrees of arthritis of the joints and the lumbar spine.

The most commonly affected were the hip and shoulder joints, the lower part of the spine.

The arthritis is attributed to hard labour from early childhood. It seems that the Offenbach-Bieber people of that era had to struggle for a living.

The ground-down teeth of the skeletons pointed to a predominantly agricultural diet, which is usually harder on teeth than meat.

To make matters worse, and other mineral impurities entered the food through the milling process.

(Die Welt, 1983)

## THE ARTS

## Higashiyama, master of the Japanese landscape



Düsseldorf's Kunsthalle recently held two exhibitions on one artist: the vernissage for the old Japanese landscape painting, Higashiyama, then the less formal exhibition of New York Now.

New York Now features 25 young artists from Manhattan with a wide range of subjects and materials: land on cement and polystyrene, felt, on an oil and hardboard and very much richer than the Old Masters from Rubens in acrylic.

There is, however, a danger of projecting too much modern art into the old text and thus losing its uniqueness.

Only a comprehensive study of the Babylonians' mathematics can do justice to the experience of the beauty of mathematics and shed light on their own thought processes.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1983)

He mostly paints Japanese landscapes: the universally revered Fuji, maple leaves, the fine colour and shadow of which traditionally refer to nature in its entirety, and the mist between tree tops and peaks that is typical of Japan's insular climate.

But his experience of the forest is likely to have been European in origin. A number of his woodland scenes have a Scandinavian look about them; Japanese woods are mostly matted scrub.

Reflecting water is a major feature of many of his compositions. The reflection is at least equal in importance to reality.

This is the result of a sense of beauty that creates reality in parks for the sake of reflection.

Yet despite dealing with objects, Higashiyama's landscapes are not naturalistic.

Tree tops and trunks are superimposed in long shots, while details seen in close-up attain dramatic proportions.

A green streak of lightning on a whitish-grey background is entitled Valley, a bright band behind trees is entitled Echo.

Colours are heightened. A snow-white tree, arguably weighed down by cherry blossom, is shown against a background of dark pine tree tops. Junipers and autumn leaves divide a painting into grey-green and orange.

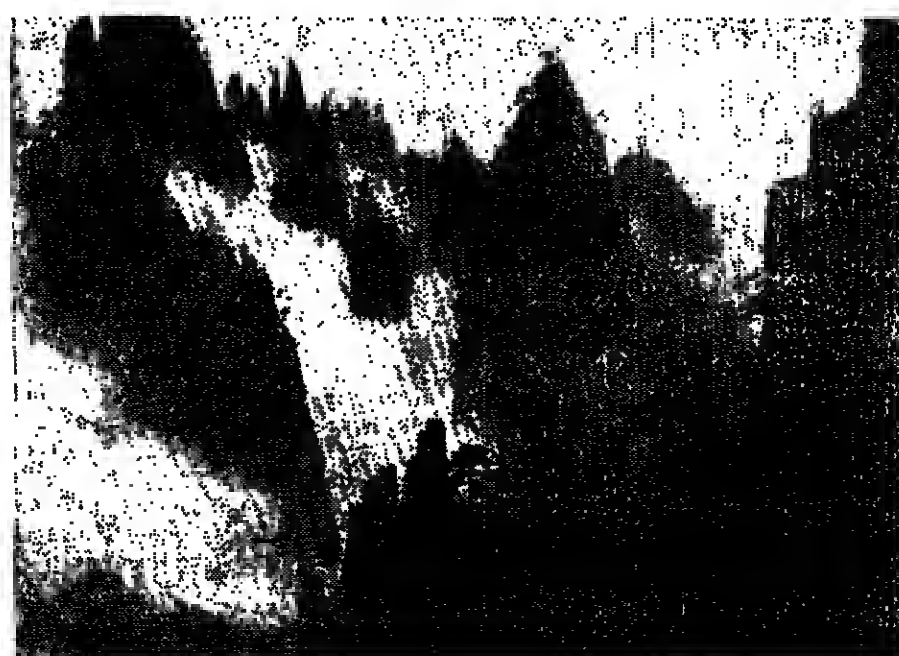
His colours are unusual, so are his paintings. Higashiyama paints with powdered minerals and metals, with vegetable dyes, with coralline powder and glass dust.

The result is subdued colours and gently shining surfaces (many paintings on show in Düsseldorf are unfortunately behind glass).

The glow of fog, the shadow of the Moon and a vague velvet are favourite effects. The more coarse-grained the material, the darker the colour appears to be.

Dyestuffs are kneaded in glue and then dissolved in water. Higashiyama seldom paints on silk. Paper prepared with glue and alum is his usual medium.

His range of colours is limited, with a growing preference for blue. The Japanese landscape itself makes do with a limited number of basic colours: ash-coloured volcanoes, grey mountains,



Higashiyama's 'Huangshan Mountains after the Rain', 1978.

(Photo: Catalogue)

green trees, yellow bushes. Flowers are strange visitors.

His paintings, mostly large canvases, convey an impression of peace and quiet. Their ambivalence between melancholy and cheerfulness is part of the Japanese character.

They are landscapes devoid of people, with the occasional horse appearing. As the Japanese see nature, mankind does not face it; he identifies with it, forms part of it.

Two people are always invisibly present in the painting, Higashiyama says. They are the artist and the person looking at the picture, the recipient of its message.

In the final analysis it is a religious message, since God is in nature according to Shinto beliefs.

So Higashiyama's paintings may fairly be described as religious landscapes, although not in the same way as those of Caspar David Friedrich.

In Friedrich's work man faces creation in the Wanderer over the Sea of Clouds or The Monk by the Sea, a painting so monotonous, as Kleist saw it, that it has only the frame in the foreground.

When you looked at it the impression gained was "as though your eyelids had been cut off." The view does not stop at the edges of the picture; it is a detail from the infinite.

This is true of Higashiyama too. His paintings are details that seem boundless, but they don't express loneliness or a sense of abandonment. They preach oneness with nature.

It would seem logical that he has

often been commissioned to do paintings for temples. There, his landscapes assume the character of votive tablets.

Sketches from 10 years' work at a temple in Nara, work that is considered to be his magnum opus, are on show in Düsseldorf.

Higashiyama has also gained a reputation of being the national painter, an artist whose paintings are given to visiting dignitaries.

When Japan and China resumed diplomatic ties in 1972 Chairman Mao sent one of his paintings, entitled Dawn of Spring, as a gift.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Japan in 1973 the Tenno and his wife gave her a Spring Dawn by Higashiyama.

When the Japanese Emperor and his wife visited the United States in 1975 they gave the US President a Higashiyama painting entitled Summer Mountains with White Clouds.

There have been Higashiyama exhibitions in Paris in 1975, Peking in 1978, East Berlin and Leipzig in 1979. One cannot imagine his paintings upsetting anyone anywhere.

He is a great traditionalist who relativises himself. His art, he says, is only one form among many currents. He is relativised in Düsseldorf too, being exhibited alongside work by five younger painters from Japan.

They paint in oil and acrylic paint, much like the artists featured in New York Now.

Hans Daiber

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 29 July 1983)

## 220,000 suppliers of 75,000 products 'made in Germany'



## Who manufactures what?

Find suppliers and products, send for quotations, compare prices, track down special sources of supply, cut costs by buying at lower prices.

This is a reference work every buying department should have at the ready.

Easy to use, just like an encyclopaedia.

Products, including 9,000 trade marks, are arranged alphabetically, complete with

manufacturer's or supplier's address.

A telephone number is listed for each supplier.

1,400 pages A4, indexed in English and French.

Price: DM68.16 post free in Germany, DM75 cfr abroad.

Order direct from us or from your regular bookseller.



DAV-Verlagshaus  
Postfach 11 03 20  
D-6100 Darmstadt  
Federal Republic of Germany

Tel.: (061 51) 336 61

## ORDER FORM

I/we hereby subscribe to THE GERMAN TRIBUNE until further notice at the following rates (postage included):

Six months Deutsche Marks 22.00  
Twelve months Deutsche Marks 45.00  
(Underline whatever applicable)

Messrs / Mr / Mrs / Miss

Name

Profession

Street

City

Country

Zip Code

Please return the completed order form to:  
THE GERMAN TRIBUNE, FRIEDRICH REINECKE VERLAG GMBH  
23 Schöna Aussicht, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Federal Republic of Germany







## Good reasons for not using drugs for children's behavioural problems

There are many reasons why drugs should not be used to treat behavioural problems in children, delegates to the seventh world congress for psychiatry were told in Vienna.

A child which has learning difficulties may have an illness. On the other hand it may just be unable to concentrate for long periods. It may suffer from timidity or depression.

Many separate problems can affect the overall behaviour of a child. What makes a diagnosis even more difficult is the lack of dependable studies on the effects of psychopharmaceuticals on children.

Ever since these drugs became available, many parents have felt that they were entitled to have "normal" and "well functioning" children through drugs.

They are wrong. Though useful in treating psychotic and depressive disorders, psychopharmaceuticals are of limited use in children; and they can often be dangerous.

Learning difficulties are now treated primarily by such stimulants as amphetamines and similar drugs.

Professor K. Minde of the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto criticised the hasty prescription of these drugs by doctors who omitted to take a closer look at conditions in the child's home and at school.

Learning difficulties can be due to the inability to pay attention long enough (when stimulants can help); but they can also be due to a child's inability to mentally process what is taught. This would be a genuine learning problem where psychopharmaceuticals are worthless.

Concentration problems occur primarily with so-called hyperactive children. But there is much confusion over this term.

Some people interpret it to mean any kind of odd behaviour while others deny outright that such a thing as hyperactivity exists.

Professor Minde described hyperactive children as those who know no fear in dangerous situations, who destroy everything that comes their way and who flit instead of paying attention at school.

Hyperactivity, he said, begins in the womb and is noticeable in the first year.

Hyperactive children have considerable problems at school. 15 per cent are slow learners and 50 per cent drop behind because of their inability to pay attention.

These children can be helped with psychopharmaceuticals that enable them to pay attention for a longer period.

But amphetamines promote only mechanical learning; they do not help a child understand new concepts. Moreover, their effectiveness is short-lived.

A few hours after taking the pill, the child is back to where it was before, though it does not forget what it learned under the drug's influence.

But these pep pills are useless with normal children who just happen to be poor learners.

Like all psychopharmaceuticals, stimulants have many side effects, most commonly lack of appetite, insomnia and head and stomach aches. They can also create the impression of robot-like mindlessness.



These drugs do not seem to be habit-forming.

Though amphetamines seem to retard a child's growth, this is made up for in the year after treatment is stopped.

While some people consider the prescription of stimulants tolerable even over long periods, children should not be given the so-called nootropic drugs as a matter of principle, Professor Minde told the meeting.

These substances whose makers advertise them in Europe as "intelligence boosters" have been banned in America for lack of reliable information on their effectiveness.

Scientific publications on such drugs as piracetam, centropenoxin and pyritinol are "disastrous," Professor Minde said.

The choice of patients and test results are inconclusive and unreliable, he said.

And the few usable studies show no favourable effects of nootropic drugs on children with behavioural and learning problems.

For this reason and because of their side effects, these drugs should not be used on children for both ethical and practical reasons.

This is important because (as Professor Gerhardt Nissen of Würzburg University's Clinic for Child and Youth Psychiatry told the congress) piracetam is easily obtainable in West Germany while stimulants can only be had on prescription.

Professor Nissen advocated maximum restraint in the treatment of juveniles with benzodiazepine-based tranquilisers.

If at all, he said, they should be given for short periods only or in conjunction with other psychopharmaceuticals because they can lead to addiction later.

He described fear and apprehension as important and useful for a person's normal development.

Fear of separation can prevent the child from being separated from its mother and fear of the environment makes it regard the family as a haven.

Learning how to cope with fear is part of the growing up process and should not be influenced by drugs.

Adolescents are frequently frightened of such normal developments as leaving

the parental home, sexual relations, identity and sexual relations. In adolescents with these psychological problems, it is hard to differentiate between natural and pathological fear, and the use of natural fear should not be offered "solutions" because of the risk of addiction.

The indiscriminate use of tranquilisers that help calm the child without many side effects can be a smokescreen over pathological fear, making it impossible to distinguish between natural and pathological fear. This is so because fear is a normal reaction to environmental stressors.

In some cases, Professor Nissen said, it can prove useful to administer small doses of benzodiazepine-based drugs.

This also applies to children who are treated by for example withdrawal, to whom fears triggered by various pressures.

One-third of the 60,000 children who see a doctor are not physically but psychologically ill, a local survey recently after interviewing Turkish doctors in the city.

Professor Nissen stressed that successful treatment of children should be done with psychotherapy for the child and his next-of-kin. There is no cure for active and passive depression, nor is it desirable.

Person-to-person help, he said, is more important than any drug.

Children and juveniles, the symptoms can be bed-wetting and stuttering, refusal to talk and, in the severe cases, depression.

The parents, who are included in the treatment, the symptoms can be suicidal tendencies, stomach ulcers and all kinds of phobias.

A 35-year-old mother of two who had treatment by Ayper a while ago

in 1965 and the last one in 1981 that the coincidence between the two and subjective health grows worse (and the self-assessment of improves) though fewer people than their doctors say.

In this connection, the concentration was drawn to an earlier Ursula Lehr that showed how have more to do with subjective health with objective health.

Activities, self-confidence and independent action, the congress said and again, could retard and mental decline.

An experiment made by Dittmann-Kohll (Max Planck Institute for Educational Research) with people aged between 60 and 80 confirmed earlier findings: Even in old age, mental training can improve intelligence and give people confidence in their ability to cope with current problems.

Pennsylvania State University's Warner Schale found in a survey (21 years) involving 120 people that flexibility in middle age helps serve each mental abilities as well as old age.

Studies of this kind are important both for individuals and adult institutions and their progress where the attitudes and motivation of older people are important.

After all, growing old is not a disaster and many negative forecasts of "most people decline towards the end of their lifespan" materialise only because old people are not trusted to acquire new and useful skills.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Her study was part of a larger project in which men and women born between 1890 and 1895 and between 1900 and 1905 were observed at seven separate times over a period of 15 years.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

## Centre helps Turks to cope with stress

suffered from insomnia, headaches, restlessness and extreme fear.

The German psychiatrists of a major state hospital in Cologne were unable to talk to her and therefore never understood what was troubling her. They attacked the problem with drugs.

It was not until she went to the centre, where everybody spoke her language, that she began to talk about what was wrong.

Five years ago, the woman came to Germany to join her husband. Back in Turkey, she had been a largely independent woman living in a familiar social environment and appreciated by her large clan.

In Cologne, her husband became the supreme boss. He knew everything better and took care of everything himself.

But here, the adults are cooped in a small room, frequently not knowing another soul," says Ayper.

This leads to what he calls an "inevitable proximity."

"At the same time, the women experience entirely new forms of husband-wife relations, making them demand more warmth, tenderness and partnership from their husbands — a demand that isn't easily met."

Many marriages also founder on the rejection the Turks experience from the Germans.

Ayper: "The patients who come to me presuppose that I know about the frustration that surrounds them, saying 'you know what the Germans are like; they'll never have any compassion'."

When Ayper asks why a patient did not take his problems at work to the foreman he is invariably told: "You know how it is. He couldn't care less whether I live or die."

Many of the people who come to see him consider the Germans heartless. All they ever think of is money.

Ayper understands what troubles them. He knows the difference between this country and Turkey.

"When my wife and I go to Turkey on holiday and arrive at a camping site in the dark, the men in the neighbouring tent is bound to come over and say 'You've come a long way and you must be hungry. Come and eat with us.'"

"Not so in Germany. Here, when we arrive with our tent, they hope we'll erect it as far from them as possible."

This, in a nutshell, is the difference between life in Turkey and life in Germany as experienced by most Turks in this country.

And this, according to Ayper, is the

## Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Four volumes are available:  
North and South America, 172 pp., DM 22.80;  
Asia/Australia, 240 pp., DM 24.80;  
Africa, 130 pp., DM 19.80;  
Europe/USAR, 240 pp., DM 24.80.

Look it up in Brockhaus  
F. A. Brockhaus, Postfach 1709, D-6200 Wiesbaden 1

## Old age: it's just different from the other ages

People become more complex as they grow older, says a researcher. Paul Beltes, director of the Berlin-based Max Planck Institute for Educational Research, says that flexibility and variability are characteristics of middle age and not old age.

He told the world congress for development psychology in Munich that people developed individual traits as they grew older, they became more different from other people and more complex.

A University of Pennsylvania delegate, Martin Seligman, said the much quoted mid-life crisis did not affect everybody. But everybody could be faced with uncontrollable traumatic events.

When a middle-aged person was affected by such events he or she could become depressed as a result of blaming him or herself rather than circumstances, he said.

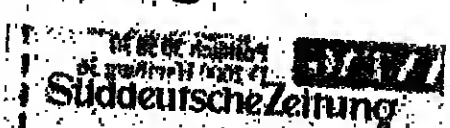
Difficult situations sometimes led to melancholy and to increased drinking.

Susan Frank and her team of the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago studied the connection between self-esteem and drinking in a survey involving 175 pairs of parents (aged between 47 and 78) and their 89 adult children (aged between 24 and 30).

They found that people with a low self-esteem are more likely to reach for the bottle to cope with psychological problems than those who think more of themselves.

Social drinking among those under psychological stress is also more prevalent than among the rest.

Generally, men drink more than women, regardless of the reason, and



They are also more often escape drinkers.

In this study, the parents were better able to control their drinking than their children.

Interestingly, young men in high callibre jobs drink more than others in the same age group. Much of their drinking is done to overcome fears and stress.

Although this result of the study might not be too reliable because only slightly more than half of the young people involved filled in the questionnaires and underwent tests, the results are confirmed by a number of other studies.

Where young people are concerned, therapy to enable them to cope with stress is probably the best approach.

Susan Frank's study showed that heavy drinking among these young people is due more to problems at work than lack of self-assurance.

Crises in older people — naturally — frequently have to do with health or lack of flexibility.

Bonn gerontologist Ursula Lehr and her team tried to establish the connection between "objective" health (that can be ascertained by a medical diagnosis) and "subjective" health (based on a person's own assessment of his well-being) among older people.

Her study was part of a larger project in which men and women born between 1890 and 1895 and between 1900 and 1905 were observed at seven separate times over a period of 15 years.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

Older people should be given the chance to enable them to cope with problems better and with more confidence.

main reason why the Turks in Germany find it so hard to cope.

Their only defence is to withdraw into a cocoon. And this widens the chasm still further.

Women suddenly stop wearing make-up and start wearing headscarves — something they had long stopped doing in Turkey.

"Men who didn't care about religion at home suddenly become fanatics. It's all a protective wall erected against the environment in which they now live — against rejection and the unfriendliness of the Germans."

Children are the principal victims. They are shuttled between the grandparents in Turkey and the parents in Germany from whom they have become estranged by separation — and they frequently do not know any more where they belong.

Young girls who at home had all the freedoms a child needs, who could climb fences and trees, are suddenly jealously guarded by their fathers.

And young men who would not have dreamed of having a casual affair in Turkey find that only those who "go steady" are somebody among Germans of the same age.

The insoluble conflict wreaks havoc. 14-year-olds start bed-wetting and stuttering from one day to the next. Girls resort to drugs and run away from home. Boys become aggressive, heat up their schoolmates, smash windows and demolish the symbols of affluence around them.

In some people, protest starts very early. One five-year-old patient had not, in two years in kindergarten, spoken a single word. "As soon as he goes inside the building, he clams up. And the moment he is out again he never stops talking."

The relaxation exercises and play at the centre are vital for the boy because he would otherwise inevitably wind up in school for retarded children although he is bright.

He is making good progress now, and there is every indication that he will soon abandon his lonely protest.

If so, he will be one of the lucky ones because the waiting list at the centre is huge. The five staff members are simply not enough for a city the size of Cologne. And not everybody who needs help knows about the centre.

If one 20-year-old woman had gone to the centre in time she might have been helped. As it was, in early July — after years of exploitation and suppression by her family — she shot a Turk who wanted to force her into prostitution.

When she was arrested, she said something many of the Turks who come to Ayper readily understand: "I've felt imprisoned up to now. So why should I care if I'm now put into a real prison?"

Ingrid Müller-Münch  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 August 1983)

have made it to top jobs like Count Lambdorsdorff, the Minister of Economic Affairs, whom Social Democrat Herbert Wehner used to refer to as the economic baron.

Yet Helmut Schmidt as Chancellor had an aristocrat as his foreign policy adviser, while Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has two members of the nobility to advise him.

There are a round dozen blue-blooded members of the Bonn Bundestag. They include Prince Hermann-Otto Solms of Hesse, who has preferred to drop his title.

Evelyn Bohne  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 August 1983)

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few